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ABSTRACT

The specific research objective of this paper was to make racial comparisons on the consistency dimension of the projected frames of reference of adolescent males from the rural South. Data were obtained from a population of high school sophomores in 3 Texas and 2 Georgia counties. Complete data were available for 223 white and 192 Negro males. Findings indicated that a majority of both races had status aspirations which were of different levels, although few of either race were totally inconsistent. White males were more likely than Negroes to be consistent in their aspirations. Large majorities of both races demonstrated inconsistent anticipated frames of reference, although more distinct racial differences existed for the vertical dimension of the anticipated frames of reference. A comparison of the 2 frames of reference revealed some horizontal inter-frame variation. Males of both races were less consistent in their expectations than in their aspirations, although this was true to a greater extent among whites than Negroes. Further research needs were other important status variables, e.g., material possessions, leisure time activities, residence, and additional research on consistency of the projected frames of reference of youth. (HBC)

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STATUS CONSISTENCY OF THE PROJECTED FRAMES OF REFERENCE OF RURAL MALES*

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The Problem

Introduction

An abundance of research literature accumulated over the past twenty years indicates that youth project adult attainment in several status areas.[1] Virtually all of this research, however, has focused on the individual's level of aspiration in only one status area or, in a few cases, two status areas studied separately. This simplistic orientation fails to consider the relevance of Merton's concept of the interrelationship of goals; which, he contends, are roughly ordered in a hierarchy of value and comprise for the individual his "frame of aspirational reference."[2] Merton further states that the goals which comprise the individual's frame of aspirational reference are more or less integrated--the degree being a question of empirical fact.[3]

This proposed interrelationship between the several elements of social status suggests that the traditional unidimensional approach to social stratification is, as Weber and others have contended, highly questionable.[4] These people contend that individuals are ranked simultaneously in a number of different status hierarchies; thus, a dimension measuring the consistency, or congruence, of the various statuses is introduced.[5] The integrational element alluded to by Merton earlier gives rise to the contention that this consistency dimension has saliency for research on the status goals of youth as well as for attained statuses.

The major purpose of this paper is an evaluation of the empirical study of the relational dimension of the status orientations of youth. Operationalization of this dimension for evaluation will be accomplished by a comparative analysis of the degree of consistency existing among the job, income, and

educational projections of Negro and white youth from the rural South. In the process, we shall also be testing the validity of Merton's contention that inculcation of high success goals approximates a universal in American society.[6]

Framework

Conceptual Scheme

Two analytically distinguishable elements are observable in Merton's discussion of the individual's frame of aspirational reference: (1) a set of goals (2) which are more or less integrated.

The goals toward which individuals are oriented vary in kind and level.[7] The kinds of social goals include occupation, education, income, family, residence, and others. Within these areas of status, individuals vary with reference to their desire for a particular level of achievement. For each goal-area, a hierarchy of levels may be superimposed over the range of alternatives, arbitrary limits drawn, and evaluations made about levels of aspiration. Consequently, for example, we may speak of an individual with a high or low educational aspiration.

One final distinction should be made with respect to the goal element. Findings indicate that youth can and do make distinctions between aspirations and expectations: aspirations refer to status objects which are desired, while expectations refer to those which are anticipated, whether or not they are desired.[8] Because of the analytical distinction between aspirations and expectations, we might expect that some youth actually maintain not one, but two, more or less distinct frames of reference. We will term the individual's array of desired status objects his aspirational frame of reference[9] and the

array of expected objects, his anticipated frame of reference.

Youths are oriented toward goals of many kinds and levels; just as adults occupy positions at different levels and in many different status-areas. In both cases, it is proposed that an integrative element operates to some degree to bind together a person's status-set--attained or projected. The integration element, status consistency, serves to provide a framework for focus in an investigation of the status-sets occupied or projected by individuals. Indeed, empirical literature which has focused on this multi-dimensional aspect of social stratification among adults have shown it to have utility in understanding many forms of human behavior, including political behavior, psychosomatic illnesses, and individual and group performance.[10]

A review of previous research on the status aspirations and expectations of youth revealed a complete lack of information on consistency of frames of reference. While a majority of researchers in this general problem area allude to the relationships between status-areas, the few researchers who have studied the orientations of youth in two or more areas analyze the goal hierarchies in separate sections of their reports and never focus directly on interrelationships between status-areas. Consequently, past research, having consistently studied status projections in the various status-areas as separate units and not as an integrated set, is of little use to us in this analysis.[11]

Research Objectives

The specific research objective of this paper is to make racial comparisons on the consistency dimension of the projected frames of reference

of adolescent males from the rural South. The following questions are formulated to guide the analysis:

1) What, if any, racial differences exist in the consistency of the aspirational and anticipated frames of reference of rural males?

2) What inter-frame differences exist in the consistency of the aspirational and anticipated frames of reference of Negro and white rural males?

Procedures

Sources and Collection of Data

Data for this research were obtained from a population of high school sophomores in three Texas counties and two Georgia counties.[12] These counties are predominantly rural[13] and have disproportionately high percentages of Negroes and low-income families compared with their respective states and the United States. A detailed comparison of the study counties with their respective states on these and several other selected indicators of socioeconomic conditions is presented in Appendix A.

The 991 sophomores who were enrolled in the 28 schools located in the study counties during the 1965-66 school year were selected as the subjects of this research.[14]

Only the male segment of the sample will be considered in this analysis. Complete data were available for 223 white and 192 Negro males. The data were obtained during the spirng of 1966.

Operational Definition of Status Consistency

Education, income, and occupation were the three status-areas selected as elements comprising the projected frames of reference. These were selected

in part because they are amenable to hierarchical structuring needed for the manipulations required in operationalizing the concept, status consistency. The questions which served as indicators of status aspirations and expectations are discussed and presented in Appendix B.

Conceptually, status consistency is defined as the extent to which the status objects comprising each of the two frames of reference are at similar levels. Consistency was measured by first collapsing the occupational, educational, and income hierarchies into three broad classes and assigning each of the respondents' status aspirations and expectations to one of the three ranks, Diagram 1. The actual measurement of consistency thus simply entails comparing the ranks of the three status objects in each frame of reference.

Two dimensions of status consistency were analytically differentiated. The horizontal dimension involved a determination of whether or not the three status objects were of equivalent rank. Three categories of horizontal consistency result:

(1) Consistent--three equivalent ranks.

(2) Moderately inconsistent--two equivalent ranks and one incongruent rank.

(3) Totally inconsistent--three different ranks

The vertical dimension reveals the extent or magnitude of rank deviation among the three status objects. Four quantitative categories of vertical consistency result:

(0) No rank deviation (three equivalent ranks)

(1) Two like ranks and a one-rank deviation in the incongruent goal

(2) Two like ranks and a two-rank deviation in the incongruent goal

(3) Two-rank plus one-rank deviation among the three incongruent status-goals (three different ranks)

Diagram 1. Three Classes Into Which Coded Responses Were Collapsed

Class*	Occupation	Education	Income
I	Professional and Technical, Glamour, and Managerial	Four or more years of college	$9,000-$50,000 or more annually
II	Clerical and Sales, Skilled Labor, Farmer and Farm Manager	Junior college attendance and high school graduation with or without additional training	$5,000-$8,999 annually
III	Operatives and Unskilled Labor (Including Farm)	Less than high school graduation with or without additional training	$4,999 or less annually

*These broad classifications have been designed to reduce inter- and intra-class overlaps as much as possible. However, it is recognized that direct equivalence in every case has not been achieved.

Although the two dimensions are conceptually and analytically distinguishable, it is evident that the first and last categories in the horizontal dimension are identical to their counterparts in the vertical dimension. Only the intermediate categories differ between the two dimensions. The methodological distinctions to be made between the two dimensions in this effort are justified, however, because they represent an important analytical distinction. The conceptual distinctions made between the two dimensions become more clear through the employment of greater numbers of levels in each of the three status hierarchies. A greater number of discrete categories in the vertical dimension would result by utilizing more than three broad levels, due to the greater amount of differentiation possible in the moderately inconsistent category of the horizontal dimension.

Findings

The findings presented here will be in two parts. First, we will present racial and inter-frame comparisons of the horizontal and vertical dimensions of consistency of the aspirational and anticipated frames of reference. Secondly, we will examine qualitative patterns of consistency and inconsistency across the two frames of reference by race.

Status Consistency of the Projected Frames of Reference

Aspirational frame of reference. A majority of males of both races had status aspirations which were of different levels, although few of either race were totally inconsistent, Table 1. White males were more likely than Negroes to be consistent in their aspirations.

Table 1. Horizontal Consistency of the Aspirational Frames of Reference of Negro and White Rural Males.

Degree of Consistency	Negro (N=192)	White (N=223)	Total (N=415)
	PERCENT		
Consistent	30	43	37
Moderately Inconsistent	62	51	56
Totally Inconsistent	8	6	7
TOTAL	100	100	100

$X^2 = 7.28$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$

Table 2. Magnitude of Vertical Inconsistency of the Aspirational Frames of Reference of Negro and White Rural Males.

Magnitude of Inconsistency	Negro (N=192)	White (N=223)	Total (N=415)
	PERCENT		
0	30	43	37
1	48	47	48
2	14	4	8
3	8	6	7
TOTAL	100	100	100

$X^2 = 17.70$ d.f. = 3 $p < .001$

In reference to the vertical dimension of consistency, a near-majority of both races had aspirational frames which were characterized by a one-rank deviation in a single goal, Table 2. Minorities of both groupings evidenced a two-rank deviation (categories 2 and 3) among any two of the three status-goals considered; however, proportionately twice as many Negroes as whites were so classified. Over-all, the aspirational frame profiles of both races were strikingly similar for both dimensions of consistency.

Anticipated frame of reference. Large majorities of both races demonstrated inconsistent anticipated frames; chiefly in the form of moderate inconsistency, Table 3. Again, the two racial groupings demonstrated strikingly similar horizontal consistency profiles, even though proportionately twice as many Negroes as whites were totally inconsistent.

Somewhat more distinct racial differences exist in reference to the vertical dimension of the anticipated frames of reference, Table 4. For example, whites were considerably more likely than Negroes to possess only a one-rank deviation in the incongruous status-goal, while proportionately three times as many Negroes experienced a two-rank deviation (categories 2 and 3).

Aspirational and anticipated frames of reference compared. A comparison of the two frames of reference reveals some degree of inter-frame variation in the horizontal dimension, Table 5. Males of both races were somewhat less consistent in their expectations than in their aspirations. This was true to a greater extent among whites than Negroes; this finding accounts for the chief racial difference noted.

In reference to vertical deviations, a large majority of both races experienced little or no deviation (categories 0 and 1) in either frame of

Table 3. Horizontal Consistency of the Anticipated Frames of Reference of Negro and White Rural Males.

Degree of Consistency	Negro (N=192)	White (N=223)	Total (N=415)
	PERCENT		
Consistent	31	34	32
Moderately Inconsistent	57	61	60
Totally Inconsistent	12	5	8
TOTAL	100	100	100

$X^2 = 6.91$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$

Table 4. Magnitude of Vertical Inconsistency of the Anticipated Frames of Reference of Negro and White Rural Males.

Magnitude of Inconsistency	Negro (N=192)	White (N=223)	Total (N=415)
	PERCENT		
0	31	34	32
1	43	57	51
2	14	4	9
3	12	5	8
TOTAL	100	100	100

$X^2 = 22.39$ d.f. = 3 $p < .001$

reference, Table 6. Negroes were again found to vary less than whites between the two frames of reference. The profiles reveal inter-frame differences for both races which indicate that the aspirational frames of reference were more consistent than were the anticipated frames.

Summary. The aspirational and anticipated frames of reference of large proportions of both races were inconsistent to some extent. A vast majority of this inconsistency for both races was of a moderate nature, chiefly in the form of a one-rank deviation in the incongruous goal. A comparison of inter-frame differences in consistency revealed a further similarity in that the aspirational frames of reference of both races tended to be more consistent than were the anticipated frames.

While the profiles exhibited a great deal of similarity, there were differences of note. For example, the inconsistencies which were found were much more likely to be in the form of one-rank deviations among whites than among Negroes. Conversely, Negroes were much more likely than whites to have two-rank deviations and total inconsistency among the components of their frames of reference. Further, while only slight inter-frame variations were observed for Negroes, the anticipated frames of whites were markedly less consistent than were their aspirational frames of reference.

Patterns of Status Level Combinations

The preceding analysis provided an abstract view of the degree of consistency existing among the status components of the respondents' aspirational and anticipated frames of reference. Due, however, to a desire to know what specific factors produced the different degrees of inconsistency, the previous analysis will be extended by providing an in-depth examination of the specific

Table 5. A Comparison of Horizontal Consistency of the Aspirational and Anticipated Frames of Reference of Negro and White Rural Males.

Degree of Consistency	Negro (N=192)		White (N=223)	
	Aspir.	Antic.	Aspir.	Antic.
	PERCENT			
Consistent	30	31	43	34
Moderately Inconsistent	62	57	51	61
Totally Inconsistent	8	12	6	5
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Table 6. A Comparison of Magnitude of Vertical Inconsistency of the Aspirational and Anticipated Frames of Reference of Negro and White Rural Males.

Magnitude of Inconsistency	Negro (N=192)		White (N=223)	
	Aspir.	Antic.	Aspir.	Antic.
	PERCENT			
0	30	31	43	34
1	48	43	47	57
2	14	14	4	4
3	8	12	6	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

status-sets held by Negroes and whites. Our objective in this section will be to explore qualitative patterns of consistency and inconsistency in the two projected frames of reference by race.

The twenty-seven possible patterns of status level combinations derivable from the combinations of three levels in each of the three status-areas provide the framework for this analysis. Three of these patterns are consistent and twenty-four are inconsistent (refer to Tables 7 and 8).

Patterns of consistency. For both races and both frames of reference, most of the consistency was at the upper goal level; few or none of either race had frames of reference which were consistent at the lowest level, Table 7. Whites were slightly more likely than Negroes to be consistent at the intermediate level; the proportions, however, are small for both races. In conclusion, a great deal of similarity between frames of reference and only slight racial differences existed in patterns of consistency.

Table 7. Patterns of Status Consistency in the Aspirational and Anticipated Frames of Reference of Negro and White Males.

Consistent at:	Negro (N=192)		White (N=223)	
	Aspir.	Antic.	Aspir.	Antic.
	PERCENT			
Level #1 (High)	28	28	34	25
Level #2	2	3	8	9
Level #3	0	0	1	0

Patterns of inconsistency. In the analyses to follow, Table 8 will serve as the basis for the development of more specific tables used to examine patterns of inconsistency. For this purpose, Item No. will be given to serve as a guide

Table 8. Patterns of Status Inconsistency in the Aspirational and Anticipated Frames of Reference of Negro and White Rural Males.

Degree of Consistency	Item No.	Ranks on: Edu.	Inc.	Occ.	Negroes (N=192) Aspir.	Antic.	Whites (N=223) Aspir.	Antic.
					PERCENT			
Consistent					30	31	43	34
Moderately Inconsistent								
1-Rank Deviation	1	1	1	2	10	4	11	10
	2	1	2	1	4	4	5	7
	3	1	2	2	1	1	3	2
	4	2	1	1	10	8	10	7
	5	2	1	2	10	10	11	13
	6	2	2	1	1	2	3	4
	7	2	2	3	3	3	0	5
	8	2	3	2	3	4	3	7
	9	2	3	3	5	6	0	1
	10	3	2	2	0	0	0	1
	11	3	2	3	0	0	1	0
	12	3	3	2	1	1	0	0
2-Rank Deviation	13	1	1	3	8	6	2	1
	14	1	3	1	3	3	1	1
	15	1	3	3	1	3	0	0
	16	3	1	1	0	0	1	0
	17	3	1	3	1	2	0	1
	18	3	3	1	0	0	0	0
Totally Inconsistent	19	1	2	3	0	3	0	0
	20	1	3	2	2	3	1	0
	21	2	1	3	3	5	3	3
	22	2	3	1	1	1	0	1
	23	3	1	2	0	1	2	1
	24	3	2	1	0	0	0	0
	GRAND TOTAL*				97	101	100	99

*These totals do not in every case equal 100 percent due to the small N's in many of cells.

in determining where a particular combination used in derived tables can be located in Table 8.

These analyses will collapse the data presented in Table 8 into patterns in which a particular status element is either higher or lower than the other two elements. By doing so, a clearer picture of the rank-ordering of the elements comprising the frames of reference is presented.

In all cases, the percentages given for a particular pattern in the tables to follow are figured using the total number of respondents demonstrating inconsistency as a base.[15] Each degree of horizontal inconsistency will be analyzed separately.

Large proportions of all moderate inconsistency for both races was attributable to one of the following patterns: income higher than education and occupation; occupation lower than the other two goal levels, Table 9. This similarity was common to both frames of reference. Negroes were slightly more likely than whites to have frames of reference in which the educational element ranked higher than either the occupational or income element. This finding was also common to both frames of reference; it was especially pronounced in the anticipated frames.

Among those respondents whose frames of reference were totally inconsistent, majorities or near-majorities of both races had frames characterized by an income element which was higher than the education and occupation elements, Table 10. There appears to be a definite rank-ordering of goals which cuts across racial lines in both frames of reference; income higher than the other two elements, education intermediate to income and occupation, and occupation lower than income and education.

Summary. No significant inter-frame differences in consistency patterns

Table 9. Patterns of Moderate Inconsistency in the Aspirational and Anticipated Frames of Reference of Negro and White Rural Males.

Pattern of Inconsistency	Item No.	Aspirational		Anticipated	
		Negro (N=119)	White (N=114)	Negro (N=110)	White (N=136)
		PERCENT			
Education Highest	3, 9,15	13	7	18	5
Income Highest	5,11,17	20	22	22	24
Occupation Highest	6,12,18	3	7	4	7
Education Lowest	4,10,16	16	23	14	13
Income Lowest	2, 8,14	16	16	20	24
Occupation Lowest	1, 7,13	32	25	22	26
TOTAL		100	100	100	99

Table 10. Patterns of Total Inconsistency in the Aspirational and Anticipated Frames of Reference of Negro and White Rural Males.

Pattern of Inconsistency	Item No.	Aspirational		Anticipated	
		Negro (N=15)	White (N=13)	Negro (N=23)	White (N=11)
		PERCENT*			
Education Highest	19,20	33	15	43	9
Education Intermediate	21,22	53	54	48	73
Education Lowest	23,24	13	31	9	18
Income Highest	21,23	40	77	48	64
Income Intermediate	19,24	13	0	22	0
Income Lowest	20,22	47	23	30	36
Occupation Highest	22,24	27	8	9	27
Occupation Intermediate	20,23	33	46	30	27
Occupation Lowest	19,21	40	46	61	45

*Because of the permutations possible in this category of total inconsistency, the following notes might help in understanding what is represented in the table: (1) Each status ares -- education, income, occupation -- is considered as a base; therefore, the percentages shown for each status area will total 100 percent. (For example, for the status area education, the percentages 33, 53, and 13 in the first percentage column equal 99 percent.) (2) In addition, each qualitative level -- highest, intermediate, lowest -- is considered as a base; therefore, the percentages for each qualitative level will total 100 percent. (For example, for the qualitative level highest, the percentages 33, 40, and 27 in the first percent column equal 100 percent.)

were observed for either race. Almost all of the consistency was found to occur at the highest level. While whites were slightly more likely than Negroes to be consistent at the intermediate level, the most significant observations found were the striking racial and inter-frame similarities in patterns of consistency.

In reference to patterns of inconsistency, the most significant findings are the similarities which were observed. These similarities are best characterized by the universally large proportions of inconsistency accounted for by the two patterns in which income was higher than education and occupation and in which occupation was lower than the other two status elements.

The most apparent racial difference was noted with respect to the pattern in which education was higher than income and occupation. Without exception, this pattern accounted for a greater proportion of all inconsistency among Negroes than among whites.

Conclusions

The following conclusions evolved from the findings of this study:

(1) Large proportions of the Negro and white males in this study had aspirational and anticipated frames of reference which were to some extent inconsistent.

(2) The vast majority of all inconsistency involved a one-rank deviation of one goal from the other two.

(3) Males of both races experienced more consistency in their aspirational frames than in their anticipated frames of reference.

(4) Inter-frame differences in consistency were more pronounced among whites than Negroes.

(5) Negroes were more likely than whites to possess frames of reference which were markedly inconsistent.

(6) In reference to patterns of status-level combinations, the following

conclusions are valid for both races:

(a) Almost all of the consistency occurred at the highest status level.

(b) Universally large proportions of all inconsistency was accounted for by two patterns: (1) income projections higher than education and occupation; (2) occupational projections lower than income and education.

(c) Little inter-frame difference in patterning existed for either race.

(7) A greater proportion of inconsistency among Negroes than whites was attributable to the pattern in which the education element was higher than income and occupation. This was the only notable racial difference in patterning.

Implications

This study represents a systematic attempt to investigate Merton's contention that the degree to which the goals comprising the individual's frame of aspirational reference are integrated is a question of empirical fact.[16] It is, in fact, the only known attempt at investigating the relational dimension focusing on the status projections of youth. In this regard, Merton's contention is generally validated in that empirical differences were found in the degree of integration among the sets of status projections of the youths in this study.

This study also provides a direct empirical investigation of the applicability of Merton's concept, frame of aspirational reference, among youth in low-income areas of the rural South.[17] The results indicate that the prevailing goals (the things "worth striving for") are recognized as legitimate objectives by even the most deprived and disadvantaged youth in American society--Negroes in the rural South. This is certainly true with respect to the three important status constituents selected for this study.

Several implications for further empirical evaluations of the relational dimension of status projections are suggested. Chief among these is the need for methodological refinements at several levels. For example, while the horizontal and vertical dimensions of status consistency are analytically distinguishable, the methodological distinctions made between the two dimensions are limited by the use of only three broad levels. The number of discrete categories in the vertical dimension would be increased by utilizing more than three levels, thus sharpening our perception of differences in consistency. A further refinement which is quite obviously called for is the inclusion of other important status variables, e.g., material possessions, leisure time activities, residence. The addition of other status variables further increases the methodological distinctions which can be made in relation to the horizontal and vertical dimensions of status consistency.

Additional research on consistency of the projected frames of reference of youth is needed to test the general validity of the conclusions presented in this effort. Although some tenuous evidence exists to support our conclusions relative to racial and inter-frame differences in consistency, the results of our study largely point up the similarities which existed between races and between frames of reference. Research aimed at finding the factors producing inconsistency is needed. The isolation of those factors influencing status consistency is a crucial area for future research.

Two other extensions of our analysis are needed. First, to further test Merton's means-end scheme for the pursuit of culturally prescribed goals, our conceptual scheme needs to be tested in conjunction with a scheme designed to measure the importance of the aspirations and expectations in

each of the status-areas in relation to other important status variables.[18] Secondly, the concept, status consistency, deserves special consideration in the ways in which it is associated with other important variables, e.g., self-image, life satisfaction, perception of opportunity, and desire for changes in social structures. Findings from past research on these associations among adults provides the basis for forming some very interesting hypotheses in empirical tests conducted on youths. Such studies are necessary to an extension of our generalizations concerning the theoretical value of studying the consistency dimension of the projected frames of reference of youth.

Footnotes

[1]See William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, Occupational Aspirations and Expectations: A Bibliography of Research Literature, College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Information Report 66-1, June, 1966; and Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, A Bibliography of Literature on Status Aspirations and Expectations: Educational, Residence, Income, and Family Orientations, College Station: Texas A&M University Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Information Report 66-7, September, 1966.

[2]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. and enl. ed. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957, pp. 132-33. For the only known exception to this generalization, see William P. Kuvlesky and W. Kennedy Upham, "Social Ambitions of Teen-Age Boys Living in an Economically Depressed Area of the South: A Racial Comparison." Paper presented at the Southern Sociological Society meetings, Atlanta, March, 1967.

[3]Ibid., p. 132.

[4]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, New York: Free Press, 1947; and Pitirim Sorokin, Society, Culture and Personality, New York: Harper & Row, 1947, Chapters 14 and 15.

[5]Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, 27 (August, 1962), p. 469.

[6]Merton, op. cit., pp. 136-39.

[7]William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice,'" Rural Sociology, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-76.

[8]Ibid., pp. 273-74.

[9]This term is used to maintain contact with the term as Merton uses it in reference to the array of "things worth striving for." Merton, loc. cit.

[10]See, for example: Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, 19 (August, 1954), pp. 405-13; Irwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 275-81; Emile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelationships," American Sociological Review, (April, 1944), pp. 151-61; Stuart N. Adams, "Status Congruency as a Variable in Small Group Performance," Social Forces, 32 (October, 1953), pp. 16-22; and Jackson, loc. cit.

[11]The following observations regarding status consistency in the projected frames of reference of youth represent the author's, not those of the original researchers. They are based on comparisons of aggregate aspiration and expectation profiles, not on individual cases:

(1) A study by Kuvlesky and Upham indicates that Negro boys possessed more consistent aspirational frames of reference than did whites. Kuvlesky and Upham, op. cit.

(2) Conversely, a study by Drabick indicates that the frames of reference of the Negro males in his study were clearly more inconsistent than were those of the whites. Further, the aspirational frames of both races were more inconsistent than were the anticipated frames. Lawrence W. Drabick, The Vocational Agriculture Student and His Peers, Raleigh: North Carolina State University, Departments of Agricultural Education and Rural Sociology, Educational Research Series No. 1, August, 1963.

[12]The data to be utilized in this study were taken from a recent Southern Regional Project, S-61, entitled "Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South." This study, sponsored jointly by the Agricultural Experiment Stations in several southern states, is designed to determine the factors involved in the decision-making processes and developmental sequences of people in the rural South.

[13]One Georgia county is included even though it is 27.2 percent urban because it meets or exceeds the minimum requirements established by the subcommittee on sample selection with respect to proportions of Negroes and low-income families in the population.

[14]High school sophomores were selected because at this age students have chosen a high school curriculum and a majority of the potential dropouts are still in school.

[15]This procedure for computing percentages was utilized to magnify the differences in patterns within each category of inconsistency. Meaningful comparisons would have been impossible had the sample N's been utilized to compute percentages, due to the small number of responses in many of the cells.

[16]Merton, op. cit., p. 132.

[17]Ibid., pp. 132-33.

[18]Such a scheme for measuring intensity of aspirations is outlined in Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit.

Appendix A

Selected Indicators of Socio-Economic Conditions in the Study Counties Compared With Those of the Respective States.

Place	Total Population (Thousands)	Negro (Percent)	Low Income[a] Families (Percent)	Median Family Income	Median Years of School (Adults)[b]	Percent of Labor Force Unskilled[c]
San Jacinto	6	52	69	$1,737	7	54
Burleson	11	31	59	2,451	8	43
Leon	9	38	67	1,946	9	44
Texas	9,581	13	29	4,884	10	36
Early	13	52	70	1,703	8	55
Dooley	11	53	65	1,942	8	49
Georgia	3,943	29	36	4,208	9	46

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population; 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 12, Georgia, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

[a]Annual incomes below $3,000.
[b]25 years old and older.
[c]Operatives, service workers, and laborers.

Appendix B

Excerpts from Research Instrument

Conceptually, aspirations refer to those status positions one desires, given complete freedom of choice. Expectations are conceptually defined as those stauts positions one really expects to attain.

Operationally, status aspirations and expectations were ascertained utilizing the following indicators:

Aspirations

15. (a)If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most desire as a lifetime kind of work? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work on the railroad" but tell us what railroad job you would like to have.) Write your answer in the box below.

ANSWER: [ ]

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25. If you could have as much education as you desired and were completely free to choose, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number.)

1 Quit high school and never go to school again.
2 Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.
3 Graduate from high school and never go to school again.
4 Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.
5 Graduate from a junior college.
6 Graduate from a college or university.
7 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

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26. How much money would you desire to make a year if you could have any amount you desired? (GIRLS: If you plan to marry indicate the amount of money you would like your husband to make.) Place your answer in the following box:

[$ _____ a year]

Expectations

23. (a) What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an exact job!)

ANSWER: [ ]

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31. What do you really expect to do about your education? (Circle only one number.)

1 Quit high school and never go to school again.
2 Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.
3 Graduate from high school and never go to school again.
4 Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.
5 Graduate from a junior college.
6 Graduate from a college or university.
7 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

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33. What is the highest yearly income that you really think you will ever be able to make? (GIRLS: If you plan to marry indicate what you think will be the highest yearly income your husband will ever make.) Place your answer in the following box:

[$ _____ a year]